000 that they would degenerate. For all that, they live contentedly and would certainly be happy if the Christian religion were to temper a little their barbarity and filth.

●648 One asks why there are so few of them, given the multitudes of women. They reply that the Christians are to blame, because, as one of them told Father Raymond, the Spanish on two occasions massacred all the Caribs on the island of Saint Christopher, and once those of Guadeloupe, from which it is said only one woman escaped to the mountains with her children to people that region. The Spanish wanted to do the same at Dominica and massacred a good half of the
[164] Caribs there. Since then the Caribs have been victims of smallpox, which they call variola, and of which several rotted and died, since they did not yet know a remedy for this disease. In short, they have been captured or killed by everybody: Flemish, English, Spanish, and the Allouagues, who are their enemies.

[49] CHAPTER II

Their Language

191 The language of the Caribs is different from that of the Galibis of the mainland. It is difficult to learn for several reasons. The first is that they do not record it in writing or in any character. It therefore requires great patience in listening and close attention to distinguish their words, which they spout out rapidly, and also a great memory to retain what one has been able to gather. The second is
[198] that they have several sorts of languages. The men have theirs and the women theirs, and there is still another for harangues and important speeches that even the young people do not understand well. The third is that they have no words at all to express the powers of the soul, such as the will, the understanding, nor any words for what concerns religion or politeness. They have no term of honor such as 'Our Father.' They express, however, several acts of the understanding and of the will, such as to remember and to wish. In other things the tongue is copious and rather pretty. They sometimes sing their songs in a tone which is not agreeable and is very simple. They sing whatever occurs to them without rhyme and very often without reason, especially against their enemies.

624 at Dominica, [69] one of Basse-Terre called Oukalé, known to the French as Hamichon; the other of Capesterre called Halannena, and known to us as The Baron. He is the host of our Father Raymond. Outside of war, the chiefs have no authority over the others.

721 When they intend to go to war, the chief who has undertaken it
[203] gives a drinking party and harangues the guests to excite them. Or else he sends his children around to all the carbets to announce the day of assembly and departure. They do not force anyone to go. They leave from Dominica in eight or ten pirogues armed in their fashion for war; they take along women only to cook and serve them, and leave them on some islet while they go to the encounter. If they have an important war, as when they invade the mainland to fight the Allouagues, they pick up warriors in passing from Martinique, Saint Vincent, Grenada (and Galibis), and form a rather powerful army, if they join courage and direction to number.

726 They rarely attack at night for fear they will kill each other, but rather attack at daybreak. They all give a horrible cry, which startles those who are not prepared for it. They readily fight in bright moonlight. Before the combat they consult the boye, who asks his demon what the fortunes of war will be. If they besiege their enemies, it is not for long, for they raise the siege by noon or night of the same day they start it. They have an implacable hatred of the Allouagues, a certain people of the mainland, and of the allies of the Allouagues who live on the island of Trinidad or by the rivers of the mainland, where there are innumerable nations. Sometimes our Caribs surprise the Allouagues, kill some of them and take prisoners. They eat the men, and make slaves of the women. The Allouagues render them the same service, often attack them, and give them no more gentle treatment.

726 They also make war with the English, with whom, however, they
● 648 tried to make peace, but which they were not able to achieve. Since the English never cease to kill them or make them slaves, they do the English as much harm as they can. They look for them in the islands they inhabit, especially at Antigua, which is a neighboring island, and kill and abduct them. We shall say [70] something in another part [of this account] of the war they had with us.

Before the French and English came to these islands, they harassed the Spanish, particularly on the island of Saint Jean de Portorico

726 [Puerto Rico?], which, however, never belonged to our Caribs. One
648 of the natives of Dominica told Father Raymond of a raid in which they captured a large number of Negroes and butchered one of our Fathers and smoked him to eat, but he had aroused in them such a
[266] reluctance that they never dared eat him. The narrator affirmed that he was one of those present at that occasion. For some time now they have abstained from eating the flesh of Christians.

411 Their weapons are the boutou and the bow and arrow. The boutou is a sort of flat club, square at the end, 2 inches thick and 2 1/2 or 3 feet long, made of green wood, brazilwood, letter(?) wood, or some other very heavy and massive wood. They cut a design on
[531] the end with their knife and fill it with wet mouchache, which is fine manioc flour, for a rather pretty effect. Whoever is hit full force with this club is crushed. Their bows are made of brazilwood, which is rather stiff. Their cords are made of pita. Their arrows are made of certain smooth stalks that grow at the tops of reeds and which are tufted. These stalks are very light; and at the end of them they put a shaft of green wood or other very hard wood, and make notches on it as on a saw, only bigger so that the arrow cannot be withdrawn without tearing the flesh around it and enlarging the wound. They also use the spiny tail of the ray for arrow tips. They rarely use iron. They poison the arrow with a venom so malignant that without a prompt remedy one dies of the smallest wound. They feather their arrows with parrot feathers or with others. To start fires they shoot arrows wrapped in flaming cotton.

727 After the combat, they pillage thoroughly. If there are any dead
266 enemies they eat the arms and feet, and smoke the rest for their return home. If they have taken any prisoners, they keep the males to be killed and the females to [717] enslave. Each piece of plunder belongs to the one who takes it. When they want to kill an Allouague, the one who captured him holds a drinking party and invites his friends. They tie the unhappy captive in a bed and starve him for a long time. When everyone is assembled his master leads the captive in and delivers the first light blow with his boutou and the others then follow suit. After beating him to death, they cut him into pieces and eat part of him at the time. Each one carries a piece home which he eats with his family in great solemnity.

627 When one Carib kills another, they have no other justice but what vengeance the parents of the killed man take, if the guilty one does not pacify them with presents.

624 They have almost the same ceremony when they make a captain of a man, although captains do not have too much authority among them. They make him fast, gash him, and then throw at his head the skins of cuttlefish. If he does not parry them dextrously he is in danger of being wounded, in which case he would not be considered a good captain.

843 During the pregnancy of the wife the husband does not eat tortoise 262 for if he did eat it, they say, they child would be deaf as a tortoise. In the same way the father doesn't eat manatee because that animal has very small eyes and the child would not fail to inherit this imperfection. But when they eat with the French they are not so scrupulous about these restrictions.

4. Commerce

157 The life which they lead is so agreeable that they are very con- 648 tented, and no matter how well we treat them, we cannot keep them living among us. Some Caribs have lived among the French for a long time and have had an easy life, but at the first occasion they have broken away and returned to the other Caribs. They are extremely suspicious, and if they see you with a musket in your hand they will never visit your house. The least thing makes them mistrustful. As we were passing on our return by way of Dominica a Carib came towards us half way from the shore. As soon as he saw the small boat which was behind our vessel he turned quickly away. If one has weapons in his boat they will never come aboard. If one of them climbs aboard a ship, the other always stays in the canoe as a lookout. They judge others as they judge themselves, which means they trust no one. If they come in sight of a house they carefully look all around, partly to see if there is anything to frighten them, and partly to discover a means of surprising it.

648 When they entered the brick house which the governor had made they roughly threw themselves against the wall to test the possibility of pushing it over. They found it firm, and hiding their astonishment and anger they remarked, as though it pleased them, "That's pretty good, compere." No matter how good they have been with you they will endeavor to trap you, and once they have you at their advantage

you cannot expect any mercy from them. When their treachery towards you misses the mark they will say in cold blood "Me no angry at you." Then they will deal with you as if nothing had happened, and as though they were your best friends.

5. Eating and Drinking

They are extremely filthy in their eating. If you could see them make their odicou you would hold it in horror. Once, in the presence of our governor at dinner, one of them was sitting at a distance from a plate of food which appealed to his appetite. Climbing on the bench he put his foot between the dishes and extended his full length over the table. One foot was on the table where he had been eating and one arm supported his weight at the other end, and he reached for what he wanted. This is how these gentlemen behave! As for the remainder they are so proud that no matter who visits them they do not get up, but only point to a hammock and say "lie here." They very freely ask for everything which appeals to them, and are offended when you refuse. This is the reason why people who know the Caribs leave only those possessions in their houses which they are willing to give them when the Caribs are expected. The Caribs promise a great deal but they very often are unfaithful. They eat animals which do them harm such as chiggers, ticks, and similar vermin.

6. Warfare

The Caribs have small drinking parties in their carbets [men's houses] on various occasions (that is to say, assemblies in their great houses which are built especially for this purpose). Here they drink excessively and eat only a little. These gatherings last sometimes as long as eight to ten days. This would be the best time to attack them, for they are almost always drunk. After a ceremony of this kind they begin to deal with their affairs, especially warfare. The very oldest captains harangue them and are listened to with a marvelous silence. The decisions are followed by common consent, although no one has any authority as commander. The business of war commences ordinarily with great harangues or speeches and complaints by the old

done them. They swim like fish. In war it does not matter if their canoe capsizes for they know how to right it very easily and get inside it again. They always carry their hammocks with them.

7. Lore and Learning

The Caribs do not count higher than ten, and they demonstrate it by their fingers. Sometimes they count to twenty, or twice ten, showing both fingers and toes. To express a greater number they pick up some sand and throw it, and they say, "as many as flies," or "very many," or "as much as this." They count months by moons and count days by nights, for they say, "I will be there for so many nights," or "I will return after so many nights." They also express with their hands and arms how they consider and measure the goodness of nations. They point to their entire hand and a part of their arm and say to us that France is as good as this. For the Flemish or Dutch they show the hand and say "as good as this." The English are the worst in their estimation, and they only indicate them by showing the tips of their fingers. It is possible that when they speak of the French in their absence, or before men of other nations, they do not maintain the same division. They use little tobacco and like to mock the Europeans who come so far to these islands seeking this miserable weed.

They have their own particular language, which I believe is very hard to learn. Besides this they have a jargon mixed with French, Spanish, English, and Flemish. The trade they have had with those nations has caused the Caribs to learn some of the words of these languages, so that in a short time one is able to understand and be understood by them. This will be a great advantage for their instruction.

6: Taylor E-5 (1930-1937) 1938
ST13 Callinago ST13

114 sur le point de la mort"), he shows a general liking for his hosts, calls them his friends, and says that theft and lying were unknown to them before the advent of the Christian Europeans—a statement confirmed by La Borde, Rochefort, and Labat. Rochefort further says that while the Caribs of St. Vincent and Dominica were slave owners they never evinced the same cruelty as was common among the whites, but treated their slaves, except for the obligation of work, more like their own children than anything else. Breton gives the native name [101] of Dominica as Wàïtukûbuli.

648 The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748), inasfar as it left the then unsettled island of Dominica "to the undisturbed possession of the native Indians," was violated by the English only 12 years later, on the pretext that the French had made establishments on the island. From then on until the end of the century these two pillars of civilization ousted one another from their respective nests as often as and whenever opportunity offered; and we can well imagine that between them "the native Indian," if not exterminated, was driven more and more into the fastnesses of forest and mountain. Writing in 1795,

114 Atwood, in his history of Dominica, mentions as still prevalent the

177 Carib custom of head deformation, and the skill with which even the children used bow and arrow. Even the memory of both is now lost, though as late as 1862 the Dominican Caribs sent the following articles to the London Exhibition: A "nest" of 12 baskets, bows and arrows, hebichet (manioc sifter), rattles, powder flasks, dishes.

177 Although I know of no records for that time, it is probable that the first half of the nineteenth century was the period of the Dominica Caribs' final conversion to Christianity, and of the greatest decay in national language, tradition, and custom. An old Carib still living told me that previous to the middle of the last century there was no church in or near the Reserve, but that some Caribs used to go to Marie Galante in their canoes to attend mass, or to have their children baptized.

114 In 1877, and again some 15 years later, Salybia, around which the Caribs were already concentrated, was visited by the American ornithologist, Frederick Ober, who appears to have been the first person since the middle of the eighteenth century to take the slightest interest in this last isolated island tribe. It is noteworthy that he is still remembered in the Reserve today by men and women who could have been little more than infants at the time of his visit. Ober's "Camps in the Caribbees" is a travelog and, as such, unsatisfactory as to ethnological data—as much by lack of detail as by the constant suspicion of inexactitude, or rather, poetic license. I have spoken to several sons and daughters of Ober's two guides at the time of his first visit, and none of them claims to remember having heard such a story as that told by Ober of his encounter in the forest

6: Taylor E-5 (1930-1937) 1938
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with the mad chief who spoke only Carib. Nevertheless, owing to the Carib's peculiar reticence, as much with one another as with strangers, this does not exclude the possibility of such an encounter having taken place. Likewise, according to present-day Caribs, his story of the army of coast-bound crabs met with in the mountains is either grossly exaggerated or refers to a small species known as the "soldat" or hermit crab—the "cirique" crab disliking the sea, and the other, black or white, land crabs being rarely found on the windward coast, or in the regions mentioned. Ober found a number of older men and women in Salybia who spoke an Indian dialect as their mother tongue, and even noted the persistence, in that late day, of the differentiation between men's and women's languages. He mentions the snake legend, and speaks of finding archeological remains in St. Vincent, but not in Dominica. (I have heard of, though not seen, old stone implements and "rocks with writing" on the wooded heights between the Akayu River and the Araturi Ravine.) At the time of Ober's visits the so-called reserve was somewhat smaller than at present, but there were other Carib lands and settlements at North End (between the Pegoua and Marigot), Wesley (La Soie), Calibishie, Penville, Morne Caraïbe, and Délice.

In June 1903 the Carib Reserve in its present form was created by decree, and its boundaries delimited as extending from the Akayu (or Raymond) River (some say the Araturi Ravine, and there seems to be no existing document to settle the matter) to Kuària (or Big River), a dry ravine, along the coast, inland, up the latter ravine to the ridge, and hence down the Ravine Pomme to the Pegoua River, which the boundary then follows up to Deux Branches, whence it cuts across in a straight line to the Akayu River. This decree made no attempt to define the status of the reserve, nor of its inhabitants and their chief. In point of fact, the Caribs merely continued their traditional custom of electing from their numbers a chief or headman (ùbutu), whose duty it is to advise and direct members of the tribe and to settle such disputes as may arise among them. For some years prior to 1930 this institution received a degree of official recognition, with remuneration to the extent of 10 shillings ($2.40) a month. In return for which the local government held the chief responsible for order within the reserve generally, and for the upkeep of the coastal bridle path through Carib territory.

In September 1930, a few days after the hurricane, and a month after my first visit, the so-called "Carib War" took place. Five negro policemen invaded the reserve, seized some tobacco and rum they alleged to be contraband, and made two arrests. Then, a dispute arising, they opened fire on an unarmed crowd of men, women, and children, killing two and injuring others. The Caribs in their turn set upon the police with stick and stone and chased them from

6: Taylor E-5 (1930-1937) 1938
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the reserve. The upshot of this episode was the discontinuance of the office of chief. The following gleanings, gathered during my often hasty visits to the reserve, half a century after those of Ober, represent fairly well what remains of the Carib language and culture.

Descriptive and Physical

The present Carib Reserve extends along some 8 miles of rugged, irregular coastline in the middle of Dominica's windward side. A series of rocky streams flow from the hills and enter the sea by way of deep wooded ravines and small inlets 2 to 3 miles apart. After a few hours' tropical downpour, they "come down," to use a local expression, changing for the time being into roaring and impassable torrents. Between, rounded shoulders or spurs rise 200 or 300 feet above the shore, and run back up to a central mountain ridge some 3 miles distant from and 2,000 feet above the Atlantic. From here, the land falls sharply in woodland and provision grounds to the valley of the Pegoua River, which forms the inland or western boundary of the reserve (fig. 11).

In all, there may be upward of 3,000 acres, but not more than a tenth of this is capable of any sort of cultivation, by far the greater part being nothing but rock and tuff. A good wide bridle path of red clay, extremely slippery in wet weather, winds in and out near the coast, up and down the steep sides of the intervening spurs. The Caribs' dwellings, though usually well hidden by trees and shrub, are seldom far away from this road. There are but two settlements: one, Bataka, being 15 minutes' climb from Kuària (or Big River), the northern boundary; the other, St. Cyr, adjoining the road high above the Salybia River. Elsewhere their dwellings are scattered along the hillsides or in the ravines, wherever their owners' fancy or convenience has placed them, some close together, others more than half a mile from their neighbor.

Disease, malnutrition, and miscegenation—results of the American Indian's unfortunate but very real inadaptability to social and economic conditions other than his own—have reduced the tribe to about 400 souls, of whom less than a quarter are entirely free from negro blood.

Physically, the Caribs of Dominica (the product of a cross between the fierce Carib invader and the docile Arawak Islander in pre-Columbian days) are a small though sturdy people, the men averaging around 5 feet 3 inches and the women about 5 feet. I have seen a few decided dolichocephals, even among the purer types, though the latter are usually subbrachycephalic (especially the women), with an index of between 79 and 81. They have straight black hair of coarse texture, which acquires in some a reddish tint through exposure to the sun's rays. Their foreheads are high and broad, their cheekbones

9: Ober N-5 (1876-1878) 1895
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nibals, — both words derived from the language of these people themselves. He found there natives less advanced than those of the northern islands in the primitive pursuits of peace, but more inured to war, braver, and less disposed to submit.

Their first reception of the interlopers was a declaration of war, which they sustained so successfully that the Spaniards left them alone for many years, only making descents upon them when they could take them at a disadvantage and enslaving them under an act which allowed the capture and transportation of such as should be proven cannibals. After the enslavement of the rapidly-decreasing natives of the larger islands was prohibited, it was most surprising to find how many "cannibals" the Spaniards discovered. I do not think it has been successfully maintained that the natives of the Lesser Antilles were anthropophagous, but, as it suited the purposes of the Spaniards to have them declared so, thus they have remained, with that stigma attached to their name, to this day.

At all events, they were too disagreeable for their discoverers to desire further acquaintance with them, except occasionally, and to this fact is due the survival of their present descendants to-day. Taking the islands in sequence, from Puerto Rico eastward, the first group we find is that of the Virgins, discovered by Columbus on his second voyage to America, and so named by him. Were this a narrative of his discoveries, I should like to linger by the way, and point out to my readers the many incidents of that voyage, and describe the islands as I myself have seen them; but I cannot allow myself that pleasure, but must confine my attention to the facts bearing upon the ancient inhabitants and their present remains. I have not discovered, nor have there been found, many relics of the natives of the Virgins differing from those in other islands farther south, and more numerous.

In the island of St. John are some rocks covered with

9: Ober N-5 (1876-1878) 1895
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The Indians of Guiana to-day, says a very thorough investigator, who published the results of his researches ten years ago,[1] are divided into four branches, as the Warrau, Arawak, Wapiana, and the Carib. "The languages of these four branches are quite distinct from each other; and within the language are dialectic variations. . . A stranger finds it difficult to distinguish, merely from appearances, the different members of the respective tribes. . . . The Arawaks are slightly taller than the Warraus; their bodies, though short and broad, are far better proportioned; skin lighter in color; expression of face brighter and more intelligent. . . . They are the most cleanly of all the Indians. . . . The Caribs are darker; somewhat taller than the Arawaks, bodies better built; having, in appearance and in reality, far greater strength; features coarser, with the appearance of greater power. . . . There is a constant enmity between Caribs and Arawaks. The Arawaks to this day retain a timid dread of the Caribs, who repay the feeling with contempt. . . . The Caribs are the most warlike of all, especially the pure Caribs. . . . They are peculiar among the tribes, in that they occupy no particular district, but are scattered more or less thickly throughout the country. . . . They are the great pottery-makers. . . . The Caribs seem to represent migrations into the country already occupied by the other tribes, and may be contradistinguished as natives and stranger tribes; the three branches of natives being all united by a common feeling of aversion to the Caribs, or strangers. . . . The natives all make their hammocks of the fiber of a palm (*Mauritia flexuosa*) while the Caribs make theirs of *cotton*. . . . The fact that the true, or island Caribs, had two vocabularies, one used by the men, and the other by the women, has long been known." Humboldt alludes to this difference of speech, and it is mentioned in my "Camps in

[1] "Among the Indians of Guiana," by E. F. Im Thurm. London, 1883.

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
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622 basis of their supposed wisdom and powers of endurance, and had to submit to such tests as fasting, drinking tobacco juice (a powerful emetic), stinging by wasps or ants, and scarification with agouti-tooth lancets.

Today the tribe as a whole elects a chief for his real or self-advertised ability to safeguard its interests and improve its lot. Unless deposed for gross injustice, he holds office for life; but no particular privileges attach to the position. Having no means of enforcing sanctions, his rule is limited to that of a paternal arbiter.[2]

[701] All records insist on the democratic character of Island Carib society. Only [593] those who so desired joined a war party. A father would not dream of telling a sixteen year old son to come fishing, but merely announce his own intention of [562 567] going. "Orders are given to none but women and slaves," says Labat; and adds that as far as he saw, both these classes were treated gently, and that many Caribs had real affection for their wives. The statement that they were also very jealous, and might kill a woman suspected of infidelity without proof or further ado 684 rather loses significance when we learn that, in their cups, Caribs frequently [578] cracked the heads of men whom they considered to have injured them, and that in such cases, only the family of the victim, if they held the deed as unjustifiable, would take up the vendetta. Moreover, should a deceived husband not kill his wife immediately after discovering her guilt, not only must he not hark back to the subject later, but he was supposed to tolerate subsequent lapses provided they be with the same man (see term 20)! This latter, however, if challenged by the aggrieved husband, must bow his head and submit to being slashed with a knife, but was at liberty to return the challenge under the same conditions later. [855] Children were disciplined little, and then, more out of sporadic ill-humor than in their own interest.

593 Although it has faded somewhat in the course of the last three hundred years, the above picture is still recognizable in its outline. The father has final authority in the household, although he usually leaves the management of children

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● 648 622 623 [666] 2 As a consequence of the so-called "Carib War" of September 1930 (see Douglas Taylor, *The Caribs of Dominica*, Anthropological Papers, no. 3, Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology, no. 119, pp. 103-159, 1938), the late chief Jolly John was "cashiered" by the local British authorities. A plebiscite by show of hands, held in the presence of the magistrate, resulted in his re-election by the Caribs, who continued to regard him as Chief until his death in 1942. Nevertheless, at the instigation of the local authorities, a council of five was appointed to replace the "office of chief," which was discontinued. Divided amongst themselves, its members have attempted little and accomplished less. The number of disputes settled by them without recourse to the magistrate is but a fraction of those successfully arbitrated formerly by the chief. Thus far, their only united effort has been directed toward urging the local authorities (who give them each a yearly "Christmas box" of $5) to raise their "pay"!

12: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1949
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guage. One of the first contingent of priests sent to that island, he landed in Guadeloupe, as he himself tells us, "on the eve of the feast of St Peter and St Paul" in June 1635, first went to live among the Dominica Caribs in January 1641, "depuis lequel temps jusqu'à la fin de 1653 j'ai fréquenté parmi eux, avec quelque interruption," and finally sailed again for France early in 1654.[8] From the time of his arrival in the islands, he showed a keen interest in the Caribs' language, culture, and welfare; and his last thirteen years there were spent in long spells of living among them in Dominica, interspersed with trips to Guadeloupe, St Kitts (St Christopher's), and other islands. Philippe de Beaumont, who succeeded Breton in Dominica, appears to have left, on the Caribs, only a long letter in which he pleads that their extermination should not be pursued to the bitter end, and which resulted in the treaty of March 31, 1660, which he himself signed on behalf of the Caribs of Dominica, and by which English and French both agreed to leave Dominica and St Vincent to the Carib. Of the later Fathers, la Borde (1704) does not say how much personal experience he had with the Caribs, while Labat (1724), whose stay in the islands was a long one, mentions only a two weeks' visit in January 1700 to the Caribs of Dominica, who by that time were for the most part concentrated on the windward (eastern) side of the island. In Martinique, hostilities between Carib and white began in 1655, and by 1658 nearly all the former had been driven out of the island or killed. The census of April 12, 1683, showed a total of only 61 Caribs, including women and children, for the whole island; and according to Labat (1724), only one Carib family remained in all Martinique when he went there as parish priest of Macouba. So much for the relative value of our best known sources.

"The *Carib* name for the Arawak whom they conquered in the Lesser Antilles was *Igneri.*"[9] Breton does not give this name, though he has: "*Arrouagues, sont les ennemis de Caraïbes,* touálicha, f. alouágue." On the other hand, Ygneri (iñéri?) and its variants (igneri, eyerí, ieri), should be compared with Breton's "eyéri *homme,*" and with the present-day Black Caribs' eiéri, iéri, *man (vir),* in the language of the women.

"According to their traditions, they [the Carib] came into the West Indies no more than a century before the arrival of Columbus."[10] This statement also has been made, in substance, by a number of other modern authors, and I should be interested to learn its source. Breton relates one of their traditions, according to which the first Island Carib were mainland Galibis who had left the continent

8 Breton, *op. cit.*, p. 415.
9 *Handbook*, p. 545.
10 *Handbook*, p. 547.

12: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1949
ST13 Callinago ST13
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to conquer the islands led by a Chief "small in body, but great in courage, who ate little, and drank still less"; and goes on to say how they told him that they had had kings in former times, and that the word *aboüyou* was the name given to those who bore the king on their shoulders.[11] Armand de la Paix says that they were unable to give a reasonable account of how they had left the mainland and come to the islands.

> Only that, they all say, their first Kallinago [Carib] father, having left the mainland accompanied by his family, settled in Dominica. He had a long posterity and saw the nephews of his nephews, who, in their extreme cruelty, killed him by poison. But he was changed into a fish of monstrous size which they call Akáiuma, and is still full of life in their river.[12]

It is certainly not such traditions as these which can fix the date of the Caribs' first arrival in the Antilles within a century.

Of the Black Carib, Rouse states: "In 1675 a cargo of Negro slaves was shipwrecked upon St. Vincent, and they intermarried with the Indians. This *Carib*-Negro mixture became most hostile to the Europeans, and so in 1795 the English moved them from St. Vincent, first to the small island of Balliceaux offshore, and later to Ruatán Island, near the coast of Honduras. . . ."[13] In Armand de la Paix' *Relation*, we find under the year 1646: "Some Negroes of Saint Vincent of the isles, being in Saint Lucia, massacred some French people from Martinique by the order of their Carib master"; while according to the Calendar of State Papers (West Indian Colonies) for 1667, the Island of St Vincent then contained "all Indians, and some Negroes from the loss of two Spanish ships in 1635."[14] The introduction of Negroes to St Vincent goes much further back, therefore, than the shipwreck of 1675; and perhaps even to Carib raids on Puerto Rico, antedating the French and English colonization of the Lesser Antilles. According to la Borde, the Negroes in St Vincent had become as powerful as the Indians there, by his day; while twenty years later (1719) the "Black Carib" were masters of the island, outnumbering the "Yellow Caribs" to an extent which, according to Bryan Edwards, had reached the proportions of ten to one before the end of the eighteenth century. They had been on friendly terms with the French, this author

11 Breton, *op. cit.*, pp. 229-230.

12 Armand de la Paix, in Rennard, p. 46. The former was head of the Dominican mission in Guadeloupe from 1643 to 1648, and reputed author of the *Relation de l'Isle de la Guadeloupe faite par les Missionnaires Dominicains à leur Général en 1647*, which was published in the latter's work.

13 *Handbook*, p. 548.

14 Armand de la Paix, in Rennard, pp. 108-109; *Calendar of State Papers*, 1661-1668, No. 1661.

12: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1949
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tells us moreover, since long before his time; and their enmity toward the English, aroused by the latter's insatiable land-greed and temporarily dispelled by the treaty of 1773 (which assigned them the northern and more mountainous quarter of the island), had been subsequently re-awakened by the openly expressed intentions of many English colonists to dispossess them still further. Instigated and supported by the French revolutionary leader, Victor Hugues, war between the St Vincent Carib ("Black" and "Yellow") together with the "democratical whites" on the one hand, and the English together with their slaves on the other, broke out on March 10, 1795, and continued until, "before the close of November 1796, the Charaibes and their allies had all submitted, on the terms offered to them by the British commander." The narrative continues:

> The Charaibes, including women and children, were in number nearly 5000; and the whites and people of colour amounted to scarcely less than 1000. As, after what had passed, it was much to be feared that the colonists could never again rely upon the fidelity of their uncivilized neighbours, it was finally resolved to remove the Charaibes from the colony, and they were in consequence conveyed with their families to the Island of Rattan [*sic!*], in the Bay of Honduras.[15]

Rouse continues: "The *Carib* who remained in the West Indies also intermarried somewhat with the Negroes. They continued to reside in Dominica and St. Vincent until the end of the 19th century, when they were moved to a reservation in Dominica."[16] The present *Carib Reserve* in Dominica was created in June 1903 by enlarging the boundaries of what for long had been the largest remaining Carib settlement in the island. As far as I know, no enforced removal of Caribs took place; and there are still several patches of "Carib lands" outside the *Reserve*, on which Carib families or descendants of Caribs are living today. Certainly, neither then nor at any other time were Caribs moved from St Vincent to Dominica.

"The period covered is that from 1650 to 1700. . . ."[17] Rouse nevertheless speaks of coconuts and limes, tortoise-shell fish-hooks and clay griddles, as if these things were contemporaneous, which is unlikely. Breton saw only two coconut trees (which the Caribs called palma, from the Spanish word for palm) in the whole of Dominica; and considered them rare enough to take and plant a nut at Basse Terre, Guadeloupe. As for limes, he says expressly: "they [the Caribs] hardly use them." Of turtle-shell fish-hooks, the 1647 *Relation* says: "On en voit encore chez eux, quoi qu'ils ne s'en servent plus."[18] On the other hand, as

15 Edwards, *History*, vol. 4, pp. 73-74.
16 *Handbook*, p. 548.
17 *Handbook*, pp. 549-550.
18 Breton, *Dictionaire Caribe-Français*, p. 297; Armand de la Paix, p. 68.

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
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Because it was the most hostile and mountainous of all the Lesser Antillean islands, without flat lands for cultivation or a safe harbor for shipping, Dominica was long considered unworthy of capture (3) (66). As late as 1748 the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle assigned it « to the undisputed possession of the native Indian ». Even after the British occupation in 1760 the Caribs continued for many years to be an important independent group which inhabited the windward coast and the high wooded interior of the island. Today the few remaining families of Caribs on Dominica's rugged eastern coast are all that remain of the once powerful island tribes.

The same rugged physiography, which delayed and hindered the expansion of the white man and of the imported negro in Dominica has not only permitted the Carib to linger on but has also safeguarded various species of the biota, including those of native origin as well as those brought to the Antilles by the Indians. OBER (39), for example, has shown that half a dozen species of birds are peculiar to Dominica. In the reptilian and mammalian groups there are also endemic representatives. Fortunately the immigrant mongoose which has caused such havoc to the native fauna in certain of the neighboring isles has not yet migrated to Dominica.

Of her vegetation and flora Dominica can truly boast, for of all the Caribbees hers is one of the richest, the least despoiled, and perhaps the closest to its original natural state. This tiny island of but 300 square miles has more forested land than any other island in the Lesser Antilles, Trinidad excepted. But already the destruction of the forests has begun, initiated by the widespread tropical habit of continually shifting the cultivated plot. Forest land is cleared and planted to native subsistence crops only to be abandoned after several years use when the fertility of the soil has been exhausted. Worthless and weedy trees, exemplified by certain species of the genus *Miconia* (locally known as bois krékré), are favored by the progressive clearing of the forest. Until recently the lack of proper forestry regulations helped to darken the picture, and valuable trees such as laurier de rose (*Ocotea* sp. [2]) and Spanish Cedar (*Cedrela odorata* L.) have rapidly

[2] Names of the authorities are omitted in the text if the species is treated in the systematic enumeration that follows.

[text continues on p. 516.—Ed.]

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
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174 sanguineal) kinship, religion and ritual, warfare and navigation, basketry and
177 house construction. Among the plants that may have been introduced by
them we may mention a fish-drug (*Clibadium sylvestre*); an herb for curing
192 arrow wounds; the arrow reed (*Gynerium sagittatum*); a marantaceous plant, *Ischnosiphon arouma*, that is still the principal material employed for basketry, and the cashew tree (*Anacardium occidentale*). It is worth noticing that a considerable number of the cultural words that were borrowed presumably from Cariban Kalina are also found in Tupí.

The most recent invaders of these islands, the Europeans themselves, introduced a large number of new things and concepts, together with the words that, for the most part, served the Island-Caribs as models for naming them. BRETON's dictionary (7) contains some six dozen of these loan-words, of which the great majority comes from Spanish (although thereafter borrowing was mainly from French). These include the names of various weapons, tools, clothes and ornaments; of bread, wine, salt and sugar; of carpenter, Christian, coast-guard, king, priest; of Englishman, Flemming, Frenchman, Irishman, Negro and Spaniard; those for the pig, cow, cat, rat, horse, donkey, goat, sheep and hen; those for the coconut, pine (presumably wood rather than tree), and sugar-cane; and those for church, prayer and baptize.

175 What may be called the political history of the Island Carib in early
648 colonial times has been summarized in another work (58, Introduction), from which the following citations are taken: « ... by 1493 they had halted in their advance, and, except for sporadic feuds of an almost personal character, had established friendly relations with their neighbours to the northwest, the Taino of Puerto Rico, alongside of whom they fought as allies in the unavailing attempt of its inhabitants to defend that island from the Spaniards... Little is heard of the Caribbee islands from the time of the Tainos' defeat, until, in 1622-1623, St. Kitts (Saint Christopher's) was 'rediscovered' for the French by d'Esnambuc, and for the English by Warner. But although they remained unconquered throughout these years, they did not escape ravage. In 1515 the Carib of Guadeloupe... repulsed a Spanish attack under Ponce de Leon; and defeated, in 1520, an attempted settlement of their island led by Diego Colon, governor of Hispaniola. Laudonniere was told by the Carib of Dominica... — where he touched in 1564, and peaceably traded hatchets, knives, and beads for plantains, pineapples, and sweet potatoes — that they greatly feared the Spaniards, who came thither and 'cut off their stones'. And from this same group Father Raymond Breton heard similar complaints some seventy-five years later ».

Guerrilla warfare between the Europeans and the Indians, with peaceful intermissions, continued throughout the seventeenth century, as one island after another fell to the Dutch, English, or French; until, in 1660, these last two powers signed a treaty guaranteeing the « perpetual possession » of Dominica and St. Vincent to the Island Carib, who on their side, undertook to cease raiding the European settlements on the other islands (this agreement was reaffirmed in 1748 in the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle). Nevertheless, the conflict continued; and by the turn of the century the Indians had been reduced, according to la Borde, to some four thousand souls divided between the two islands still remaining to them. The end came in 1763, when England, at the treaty of Paris, formally annexed both Dominica and St. Vincent. However, the Indians, though henceforth confined to the more inaccessible

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
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parts of these islands, continued to live by hunting, fishing, and food-gathering, with a minimum of horticulture in burnt forest clearings; and kept up their trade-excursions to the Guianas until well into the nineteenth century.

Division of labour was as follows:

Women	*Men*
planting, weeding, reaping, food-gathering.	felling, burning, and clearing land.
	fishing and hunting.
preparation of food, drink, oil, paint.	house construction.
carrying of water, fuel, food.	making: dugouts, paddles, masts, and sails
making: pottery	bows, arrows, clubs, and blow-tubes
cassava griddles	stools, mortars and pestles
calabash-vessels	cassava-troughs
« teeth » for stone-chip graters.	grater-boards
	cane-presses
	carved wooden and moulded waxen figurines.
spinning cotton thread (with spindles).	spinning bromelia twine (on leg).
weaving hammocks.	weaving all basketry.

While all women were supposed to acquire such accomplishments as the making of pottery, the spinning of cotton, and the weaving of hammocks, some of the men's work was more specialized, particularly with regard to the building of dugout canoes and to basketry. The latter craft had been carried to a degree of perfection and artistry rendered possible only by the fineness of the principal material used (*Ischnosiphon arouma*). Most complicated as to construction is the long tubular cassava-press (*rukáma*), to make which a knowledge of various techniques and patterns is required. Sifters are of a more-or-less open « hourglass » twill, and are round in shape. Back-baskets or « carry-alls » (*kaiduli*) were of two kinds, the commoner consisting of a back, two sides, and a base, woven in « hourglass » twill, and mounted on a frame that made it possible to rest the load without lowering it to the ground. These were supported when in use by a band passing over the bearer's forehead. Lattice-type, hexagonal weave containers for food and offerings were